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"Your wife has not known men. Do not frighten her. If she runs away from you, do not follow her. Wait for her mother to deal with her. Be patient."

When the parents felt the instruction was sufficient, they would confer again. The girl's parents might say: "Our daughter is ready now. We have taught her all we can. Watch her behavior and if she does not do right, instruct her." The boy's parents replied: "You do the same for us. Our boy should know his duty but if he does not, you should complain."

The boy was then sent to spend his first four nights with his bride. He did not come in the daytime, "because he would be ashamed". He entered the hut after dark and left before morning. The pattern evidently demanded that a well-brought up girl should show fright at such a time for the admonitions and accounts of marriage always mention a terrified bride. One informant said she ran around the house until her mother caught her. Another hid in the large granary basket and had to de dragged out (27). This was done by her family, not by the bridegroom.

On the fifth day, the bridegroom having left before dawn, the bride's mother escorted her to her new home. The bride took nothing with her because it would not be good manners to do so until she was established, but her mother brought the groom's mother a small gift. The groom's family, if they were well-to-do people, gave the bride a buckskin dress and might also make a gift to her mother. It was not obligatory, merely out of good will, "when we had something". An informant thus described the formalities:

"He (the bridegroom) left our house in the morning and my mother and I went in the afternoon. My mother had her carrying basket on her back with a jar of cactus syrup as a present.... We stood out behind their house and waited to be invited in.... My mother-in-law came out, took the syrup from my mother's basket and put it away. Then she came out with some beans and corn and filled the carrying basket. She said to me, 'I have put the mat for you.' So I went into the house and my mother went home. My mother-in-law came to the mat she had placed and laid on it a waist and skirt and some beads." (26)

The young people lived in the house with the groom's parents until they had one or more children. They were still practically under tutelage; the boy working and hunting with his brothers under his father's direction, the girl doing the heavy housework for her mother-in-law, often with several sisters-in-law to help her.

As a privilege of the married state, the girl might now be seen at ceremonies and dances, particularly the puberty dance which

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885 sometimes turned into a lascivious occasion. She and her husband,
[593] as a sign of intimacy, ate out of the same dish and deloused one another's hair.

585 The system of having the groom spend four nights at the bride's
587 house was only for first marriages and if either party had been married before, it was omitted. When the groom was already the husband of the bride's older sister, there were no formalities. The bride's parents simply announced that their daughter was old enough, received his acquiescence and brought her to him. But parents often decided to offer a daughter to a man who had a wife not her sister or who was widowed or divorced. In that case they delayed to consult their relatives and instruct the girl but then took her to him without the preliminary four nights. If the man were still very young, the negotiations might be made with his family, otherwise with the man himself. Adult women also sometimes made their own arrangements but as a rule a widow or a divorced woman who returned to her family was disposed of by them like a young girl.

"We gave my son a wife when he was seventeen. Some people came to us and said, 'We have a daughter. She was married to a man but that man went away to the White school and when he came back, he did not take her. She is older than your son but she is industrious. She may be some help to him.' We said, 'It is true that she is older but we have seen her work. She may be a help.' So we told our son and he said nothing." (26)

A divorced woman thus recounted her experience after she had come back to her mother's house.

"'A few days' later my uncle found out. He said, 'We cannot have this woman here with no one to care for her. We must find a husband.' So he went to an old man and proposed for me. I didn't
[562] say anything. No woman has a right to speak against the men of her family." (26)

MARITAL RELATIONS

595 All a man's wives lived in the same house. If they were sisters, it was said they always got along together; otherwise there might be quarrelling and he might build a separate house for one of them. The local tales abound in situations where a man had to divide his attention between two wives.

837 The pattern of female seclusion and modesty was entirely altered
786 after marriage. Women might now go to the drinking ceremonies and to the girl's puberty dance which was the outstanding occasion for sex liberties. For couples to disappear into the darkness at these times was an accepted part of the performance. Women joked

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Papago society was completely democratic if we except the class division into old and young which made every one, in the course of his life, first an inferior, then a superior. Within an age group, all had equal rights and even the officials did not dictate. It was their aim to come to a decision which should have the complete emotional support of all and they were willing to take endless time in achieving this. The result was an extremely stable society, moving slowly and not subject to tyrannous changes.

Unity was not a difficult ideal, for all had the same surroundings and experiences, and all had been conditioned from childhood to the same code of behavior. It was this relentless conditioning which made organized government superfluous. People were already prepared for the necessary duties and, unless circumstances changed, would perform them almost automatically.

Unity being the ideal, no one was expected to take authority or to "make himself big". Common sense and industry were what gained respect and any attempt at prestige would arouse suspicion. A man who had been through the various purifications and thus achieved all that individual prowess could, was warned when he became a "ripe man": "Now you must always stay behind the others. When food is passed, you must be the last to take it." This was the accepted demeanor for the great.

The unity of the group was constantly emphasized in words. "We love our relatives. Our pleasure in life is to be with our relatives." The Papago, so restrained in most directions, seem, from the White point of view, over-expressive on this one point, but it is the emphasizing of a principle: a constant reminder of the proper group attitude.

The individual derives his sense of importance from his feeling of unity with the group. There need be no struggle for position for he has position which only the most outrageous conduct can forfeit. As there is no special honor for the officials, so there is no lack of respect for the humdrum group members. The frantic hunger for success which plagues a White society was entirely unknown to the old time Papago.

A good man in the Papago sense, was a useful member of the group. He must be peaceable and loyal. He must be industrious, so that others would not have to support him, and he must be generous with gifts. He must have common sense so that he would be an asset in the group councils but he should not have striking ideas which would make unity hard to achieve. He should be modest and, no matter how old and wise he was, wait to speak until he was asked. He should never quarrel or speak evil. His ambition

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885 should be to achieve the status of responsible patriarch, able to
156 support and protect others. In addition, if he had had a vision which gave him power, it was desirable, for thus he could better help his family. But individual power was an idea extraneous to the main Papago scheme and never logically incorporated with it.

The good woman had much the same virtues as the good man for, in her household sphere, she also took council and responsibility. With her, there was little question of a vision and industry headed all the virtues. Her conduct in sex matters was not, by any means the distinguishing mark of her behavior for both she and the man had a fair amount of latitude. But she had a ceremonial duty never to injure men by her presence while menstruating. If she was careful in this respect and was industrious, she was always a good citizen.

The achievement of this ideal was perfectly possible for any average group member and the society was correspondingly contented. The unadjusted person was the ambitious individual, with startling ideas. He would always be listened to, — at least if he waited until he was old enough to speak in council — for the society suppressed no one. But he would suffer the stigma of being uncooperative, talking too much and being "big headed." Only the most urgent conviction could nerve a man to put himself thus outside the pale, or only the most robust ambition. One imagines that shamans must have had such an ambition for they alone took the risks and received the rewards of the business adventurer. In psychology, they came nearest to the normal individualists of a modern society. But the average group member was not likely to diverge. The emotional drive to unity was great, experience was limited and ideas hard to come by. If a man had one which differed from the ideas of the council and if he could maintain it until he was elderly and entitled to speak, it was valid indeed.

156 Group unity is now being rapidly broken up by the impact of White ideas, but it is still found among the older men, and one of the greatest misfortunes of the returned student is to find himself debarred from this unity and from the feeling of individual importance which it gave. He must now either convince his whole group of his new ideas, fighting against the stigma attached to putting himself forward, or he must achieve enough to be important in his own right. The second problem is the burden of White youth also, but the latter are not conditioned to shyness nor to an audience which rejects publicity methods.

When the individual had once submitted himself to the group pattern, he had no oppressive duties, other than the constant one

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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581 Normally Papago marriages run smoothly and are quite stable. Whether the new home is with the groom's or the bride's parents, the other partner does not suffer an abrupt transition from his old home situation. As before, he is expected to work industriously to help earn the family living, to defer to his elders, and to be modest and inconspicuous.

593 885 At first the new couple may be the juniors of all other adults in the family group, and they have a corresponding lack of influence. During the first months of marriage the bride must prove her ability to fit into the family and do her full share of work. There may be some reserve toward her as a person who is not yet fully one of the group, but, with the birth of the first child, her status changes considerably. The chances of her going home to her parents are greatly diminished. The interests of the new mother and the household have now converged in the child, and she is bound to the others by a very tangible and important tie. She goes about her work with a new assurance and no longer stays in the background when there are visitors; instead she will be called on to display the youngest member of the family. There is a new warmth in the voices of family members when they speak of her, and she is more often mentioned and considered rather than simply included because she is present.

The young father's status is also changed, for he is no longer an irresponsible youth but a man with a family. His opinions in household matters are more seriously considered, and he can speak with assurance in discussions among the men. Paternity is not a prerequisite for recognized adulthood among Papago males, but the birth of a child undoubtedly contributes to the dignity of a man's position.

593 Gradually, as they grow older and have more children, the couple will assume more responsibility for family judgments. Ideally they will at last reach the position of being the seniors in the household, with the highest authority.

587 If a man's wife dies, he is likely to remarry. The children may remain with him or may be cared for by his, or his first wife's, parents. If a woman loses her husband, she may continue to live with his family, particularly if she has children, but ordinarily she returns to her parents' home.

586 Naturally, not every marriage is successful, and divorce, usually for incompatibility, is not uncommon. One or both parents may remarry, the children of the first marriage remaining with their mother or being cared for by grandparents, whichever arrangement suits the new couple. In the case of Indian-custom marriages, divorces must be obtained in the tribal court (see chap. vii).

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868 fields during planting or harvest, they doubtless learn something of agricultural procedures. However, a few boys who are exceptionally large and strong have a regular share of the farm work by the time they are ten.

The precise age at which a boy or girl begins to assume regular duties varies according to his own inclination and the family situation. The Papago believe that, just as the baby learns to walk and talk when he is ready, the older child will learn to work and need not be mercilessly prodded. Some families who feel that their children should become industrious at an early age carry on the training more intensively. Others are impelled to do so by the need for additional help in a short-handed household.

861 Characteristically, Papago children learn mainly by imitation, without explanation by adults and without asking many questions. As mentioned in chapter i, direct question and answer is not the Papago way of acquiring or giving information; hence the Papago child is not encouraged to ask how to do things. For example, in learning to cook, the little girl tries to do what she has seen her mother doing. Adults give little, if any, assistance to the novice, but they watch her closely and make it clear that they are pleased if she succeeds. Direct praise, however, is seldom given.

Though the Papago do not tell the child *how* to do things, they explain at length *why* he should do them. They impress upon him that only by willing [885] obedience can he become an honest, industrious, and kind man—the sort of person who is respected in Papago society. To get a child to do as they wish, parents say that they "just talk to him, and he does it." If he fails to comply, they lecture him further, tell him people will think he is lazy, or "talk hard" (scold). Beyond this, most parents say that they "do nothing." One mother expressed some irritation by saying, "What can I do? He runs away in the brush!" Such behavior provokes adults to momentary exasperation, but continued evasion does not heap adverse judgment on the guilty one or cause his parents alarm; he is still a child, and his disobedience is excusable on that basis. The most adults do to remind him of his shortcomings is to contrast his behavior with another child's: "Dorothy is good help all the time. Even if she's smaller, she's better help than Helen. I don't know why Helen doesn't like housework." By and large, however, children do their share of the work and do it without much pressure.

PLAY ACTIVITIES

857 As he nears ten, the Papago child's leisure time gradually decreases, for the increasing number of younger children pushes him more and more into a supervisory role. Though he begins to be a working member of the family